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THE NIṢPANNAYOGĀVALĪ OF MAHĀPAṆḌITA ABHAYĀKARAGUPTA

By B. BHATTACHARYYA

THE *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* of Baroda published very recently the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta, a hitherto unpublished work on Buddhist Psychic literature. The work is of immense importance in the history of Buddhism. Buddhist rituals, and Buddhist yoga. Niṣpanna means " accomplished " or " completed," and " Yoga " means " meditation." Thus the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* is a collection of accomplished or completed meditations. In these meditations, unlike the other forms of Sādhanas, a cluster of deities, well arranged in Maṇḍalas, is visualized, and the details of these Maṇḍalas are recorded here for the guidance of neophytes and laymen.

There are altogether twenty-six such Maṇḍalas described in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Each Maṇḍala, besides describing the central deity, accurately gives minute descriptions of a large number of Buddhist deities surrounding the principal figure. Sometimes the number of these companion deities exceeds one hundred in number.

The twenty-six maṇḍalas are dedicated to the following twenty-six principal deities. Their names are:—(1)

Mañjuvajra, (2) Akṣobhya according to Piṇḍīkrama, (3) Vajrasattva according to Sampuṭatantra, (4) Jñānaḍākinī, (5) Hevajra with seventeen deities, (6) Nairātmā, (7) Vajrāmṛta, (8) Heruka of four forms, (9) Mahāmāyā, (10) Buddhakapāla with nine others, (11) Vajrahūṅkāra, (12) Sambara, (13) Buddhakapāla with 25 others, (14) Yogāmbara, (15) Yamāri, (16) Vajratārā, (17) Mārīcī, (18) Pañcarakṣā, (19) Vajradhātu, (20) Mañjuvajra with forty-three deities, (21) Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, (22) Durgatipariśodhana, (23) Bhūtaḍāmara, (24) Pañcaḍāka, (25) Six Cakravartis, and (26) Kālacakra.

For the study of Buddhist Pantheon and of the iconography of Buddhist deities this *Niṣpannayogāvalī* is a veritable mine of new, reliable and accurate information. The volume of information on the names and forms of Buddhist deities is considerable and altogether new. With the help of these descriptions it will be possible to identify images of Buddhist deities hitherto unidentified. In view of the importance of the book I give below relevant information about the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and its author.

The last colophon statement in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* makes Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta the author of the book. It is also recorded in Tibetan Tangyur that Abhayākara is the author of *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, and the Tibetan translation of this work is extant in the Tangyur collection. Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta was a prolific writer and many of his works were translated into Tibetan. He was himself a great Tibetan scholar and translated books into Tibetan by himself. The *Tangyur Catalogue* of P. Cordier assigns twenty-four works to him including the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.

Very little is known about our author Mahāpandita Abhayākaragupta from ancient historical sources. From information available we know that Abhayākaragupta was affiliated to the Vikramaśīla monastery, obviously as a pro-

fessor. He was respected in Tibet as a scholar and as a Tāntric author. He was contemporary of the Pāla King Rāmapāla of Bengal who flourished in A.D. 1084-1130. Many fanciful and miraculous feats are attributed to him in Tibet showing that our author was an adept in Tantra and was able to perform miracles whenever required to protect Dharma.

Since the author Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta was attached to the Vikramaśīla monastery, it is necessary to give here a brief account of this monastery. Those who are interested in a detailed account of this monastery of international importance in pre-Mohammadan times may refer to the admirable account of it in Professor Dr. A. S. Altekar's *Education in Ancient India*, pp. 125 ff.

The monastery of Vikramaśīla was founded by the Pāla King Dharmapāla (*C.* 775-800 A.D.) as a teaching institution, and it grew in course of time to be a centre of international learning where Tibetan scholars used to flock in large number to drink deep at the fountain of Buddhist knowledge. The most famous among the professors at Vikramaśīla is undoubtedly Dīpaṅkara Śrī Jñāna who was invited by the King of Tibet in the 11th century to visit the country and to reform the condition of Buddhism there. Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara was a scholar of no less fame and his Tibetan translations show that he also may have visited Tibet. Some authorities think that Vikramaśīla was the second name of Dharmapāla, and as he was the founder of the monastery, it received the name of Vikramśīla in consequence.

The Vikramaśīla monastery, like other sister monasteries of Nālandā and Odantapuri, was destroyed by the invading hordes of Mussalmans in the 13th century. Their destructive work was so perfect that it has become difficult to identify these places to-day. From Tibetan sources it is known that the monastery was situated in

Bihar on a hill on the right bank of the Gangā near Bhagalpur. This ancient place is now identified with the Pātharghāṭā hill where extensive ruins, antiquities, and images have been found. After destroying the monastery and slaying the shaven monks the gallant Muslim conqueror must have discovered, as he did at Odantapuri, that it was a college with huge libraries. These libraries the conquerors systematically burnt to the great relief of the antiquarians of modern days.

Abhayākaragupta of the Vikramaśīla monastery is the author of the present work *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. He wrote another work "*Munimatālaṅkāra*" in the thirtieth year of the reign of the Pāla King Rāmapāla, which is equivalent to *circa* 1114 A.D. Thus our author belongs to the fourth quarter of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century.

The Muhammadans destroyed Buddhism in Bengal in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Our author flourished nearly 100 years before this destruction. Buddhism at that time was in its height of glory. Buddhism of that time was not the Buddhism of Lord Buddha or of the Śūnyavādins and Vijñānavādins, but it was entirely of a different type. It was the Buddhism of the Vajrayānists of the Mahāsukha School in which all forms, yoga, tantra, mantra, magic, gods, goddesses, mudrās, Maṇḍalas, etc. were intermixed. It was a hybrid form of Buddhism in which all that was good and bad in Buddhist history was incorporated. As a result, Buddhism became extremely attractive and popular in Eastern India. The monasteries were like forts with formidable walls and gates containing innumerable temples, lecture halls, libraries, myriads of images of gods and goddesses in precious stones, gold and silver, and were overburdened with the accumulated wealth of the ages. The lure of loot attracted the invaders, and the monasteries were destroyed.

Hundred years before that destruction these monasteries were humming with academic life. Great scholars were busy writing new books, and new Śāstras, lecturing to pupils and adepts, and attracting pupils from distant lands like Tibet and China. There were mystic professors passing years in quiet meditation, and in the practice of Yoga and Tantras, and revealing their rich experiences in books on Tantras, Sādhanas, and Maṇḍalas. These great mystics were making their new experiences known to the masses through mystic songs, books and communions. They were as it were serving as intermediaries between the terrestrial and celestial worlds, and were trying to beautify, ennoble and elevate the earthly life with light obtained from the spiritual world.

Our author Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta was one of those great mystics whose name will remain indelibly written in the pages of the history of mysticism in India. He wrote many books on Sādhanas and Maṇḍalas, practised meditation, visualised deities and transmitted his knowledge to posterity through excellently written monographs. Unfortunately, however, much is not known about him until now, and it is doubtful whether any of his other books is ever published and known. Thus the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* presented now in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* proves to be the first of his numerous works to be published. Even if Abhayākaragupta is not well-known in the land of his birth, he is no less a celebrity in Tibet where all his works are preserved in Tibetan translations; he is worshipped as a saint in Tibet, the land of mystery and snow. This valuable work *Niṣpannayogāvalī* is given an edition because this would serve to rescue the name and work of this great scholar from oblivion.

As has already been said the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* is a work on Maṇḍalas and is remarkable for its richness of information and brevity. It contains in all 26 Maṇḍalas

in twenty-six chapters some short and some long. All these Maṇḍalas describe innumerable deities of the Tantra cult. A large number of these descriptions is absolutely original, highly interesting and informative. Many of their names and forms are altogether lost, but are published for the first time. Many of the deities described accurately in the work are not to be found anywhere in printed literature. *Niṣpannayogāvalī* thus presents unique, original, useful and most valuable information which constitutes our most authentic material for the study of the images and deities belonging to the Buddhist Pantheon. The *Sādhanamālā* published earlier in the same series indeed presents valuable material for the interpretation and correct identification of numerous Buddhist deities and images, but the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* outbeats *Sādhanamālā*, since the material presented here is more varied, more extensive and more prolific.

What service this *Niṣpannayogāvalī* can render to Buddhism may be illustrated by a reference to the several hundreds of images of Buddhist deities discovered in the Forbidden City of Peiping in China. It will incidentally show that influence which Sanskrit exercised on China and on her Buddhism, and will illustrate forcibly the cultural penetration of Sanskrit into the deepest regions of China. This is a further monument to show how Sanskrit conquered the hearts of the Chinese people even so late as the 16th and 17th centuries.

In July 1926 the Russian Archaeologist Staël Holstein received permission from Mr. Chuang, President of the Palace Committee, to visit a number of Lama temples situated in the Forbidden City—temples which for many years seem to have been entirely neglected. In the upper storey of one of these temples, the Pao-hsiang Lou, he found a collection of bronze statuettes constituting a Lamaistic Pantheon which had consisted originally of 787

figures. These figures along with a series of photographs from three manuscripts written in Chinese were studied by the famous American scholar, Professor Walter Eugene Clark, Wales Professor of Sanskrit in Harvard University, and he published the material in two sumptuous volumes, entitled, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* in the *Harvard Yenching Institute Monograph Series* in 1937. The first volume contains an introduction, bibliography and indices of gods and goddesses in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese. The second volume contains the illustrations of the deities.

These illustrations are of the utmost importance for the study of the Buddhist Pantheon not only of China, but also of India, Nepal and Tibet. The original images bear inscriptions in Chinese and sometimes in Tibetan and other languages, and the learned author took great pains in reconstructing their Sanskrit names. In many places it was not even possible to assign the foreign names to their Sanskrit equivalents. All the Sanskrit names which could be made out are valuable additions to our knowledge. A list of deities with Sanskrit names found in China is appended to the printed volume published in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*.

A large number of these names derived from Chinese sources is to be found in this *Niṣpannayogāvalī* presented in the *G. O. Series* to scholars for the first time. It may be remarked here that the deities discovered in China have no descriptive parallels in literature, whereas *the Niṣpannayogāvalī* not only gives their names but also full descriptions of at least 60 per cent of all the deities found in China either in the form of statuettes or miniatures in manuscripts. It it thus very probable that Chinese artists derived their inspiration from Sanskrit originals before they carved out or moulded the statuettes of Buddhist gods and goddesses in China, for it is quite incon-

ceivable that any artist can prepare images of such wonderful complexity from their own imagination entirely without the help of Dhyānas or descriptive texts. Another remarkable thing that can be noticed in this connection is that although the paintings in miniatures have a distinct Chinese flavour, no such thing is noticeable in the statuettes. The statuettes present characteristics such as are to be found in the images coming from Nepal or Tibet, and it is quite conceivable that these statuettes were made by Nepalese or Tibetan artists and then exported to China. It is also possible that the Chinese King of the Forbidden City of Peiping imported Nepalese and Tibetan artists to China and made them execute these statuettes under express command.

Whatever may be the circumstances under which the statuettes were made, it still remains to be seen wherefrom the artists derived their knowledge of the correctness of the form of the numerous deities for the purpose of representation.

Since our book *Niṣpannayogāvalī* gives full iconographic descriptions of most of the deities found in Peiping, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* formed at least one of the originals from which the artists obtained the correct idea of the form of the deities. Otherwise it is difficult to conceive how form can be given to such obscure deities as the Sixteen Bodhisattvas, the Twelve Pāramitās, the Twelve Vaśitās, the Twelve Bhūmis, the Four Pratisamvits, etc. which are described accurately in the Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. It is not possible to prepare images of these deities without the help of the descriptions given by Abhayākaragupta. The conclusion is thus irresistable that the images found in China correctly represent the forms described in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, and the artists received their inspiration directly from this work of Abhayākaragupta. This

is one conclusive proof of how Sanskrit influenced the culture of China, and how China was deeply influenced by this cultural penetration.

According to Professor Clark who studied these statues, they were presented by emperor Chien-lung to his mother on the occasion of his mother's eightieth birthday in the year 1771. It is, therefore, conclusive that even in the 18th century China continued to be deeply influenced by Sanskrit Buddhism which she received through Tibet.

The importance of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* in unravelling the iconographic problems of the Chinese statuettes can hardly be overrated in the present state of our knowledge. The obscure deities described in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* can hardly be found in India to-day, but it is strange that their images could be made in Tibet and installed in China even in the 18th century.

The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* thus is a great addition to our stock of knowledge about Buddhism and its rituals, deities and pantheons. The so-called Nepalese banners containing representations of entire Maṇḍalas now can be confidently identified with the help of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, which no Museum curator can afford to neglect.

TAKṢAŚILĀ[1]

By S. B. Chaudhuri

The name perhaps refers to the rock of the race of the Takkas[2]. Pāṇini mentions the city in his *Sūtra* IV. 3.93 and in the accounts connected with the life and teaching of Buddha Takkaśīlā occupies a great place especially as a famous seat of learning in Ancient India[3]. In the accounts of Alexander's invasion the people of Taxila appear as Taxillas whose famous city[4] "according to Strabo was very great and wealthy and the most populous city that lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes." The king of Taxila called Taxiles by the Greeks, which was evidently his territorial title, brought rich presents to Alexander.[5] In Aśoka's time Takṣaśilā, as we learn from the Fmperor's Minor Rock Edict II, was the headquarter of a Provincial Government possibly of Uttarāpatha[6]. In the century that followed the fall of the Murya Empire Taxila

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[1] The abbreviations uesd here are the following:

AIHT=*Pargiter Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*: BR=*Buddhist Record* by Beal; CL=*Carmichael Lectures*; CJ=Cowell's *Jātaka*; CAGI=Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*; MI=*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* by Mc Crindle; MM=*Ancient India described by Megasthenes and Arrian by* Mr Crindle: MT=*Ancient India as described by Ptolemy;* PH=*Political History of Ancient India* by H. C. Roy Chaudhuri: SI=*Select Inscriptions by* D. C. Sircar, *vol.* I; YC=*On Yuan Chwang* by T. Watters.

[2] *MI*, p. 57, fn. 1. It is stated that it was known also as a cave city or Shih-Shih-ch'eng (*YC*, I, pp. 200 and 241). In a local inscription the form is given as Tachhaśi (la)e (EI. XIV. 295). For Takshaśilā and Chhaḍaśila of the kalawan *viz.* of the year 134, Seen S. Konow, in EI. XXI. 253.

[3] Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 53.

[4] MM. p. 154.

[5] *MI*, p. 59, fn. 3.

[6] *PH*, p.253.

passed under the rule of the Graeko-Bactrians. In the first part of the first century A.D. Taxila was visited by Apollonius of Tyana who says that the city was about the size of Nenevah and walled like a Greek city.[7] From his account we learn that the people "wore cotton the produce of the country, and sandals made of the fibre or bark of papyrus, and a leather cap when it rained." Taxila was also visited by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang and the latter agrees in placing Ta-ch'a-shi-lo at three days' journey to the east of the Indus[8]. The site of the ancient city has been identified with the ruins of Shāh-dheri, which is a mile to the north-east of Sarai in the north-west corner of the Rawalpindi District.[9] In *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* Takṣaśila appears as a city situated on the banks of the Vitastā (Jhelum), the reflection of whose long line of palaces gleamed in the waters of the river.[10]

Both Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang treat Takṣaśilā as a district separate from Gandhāra and the latter says that formerly it was in subjection to Kapiśā, and laterly it became a tributary to Kasmir. To Hiuen Tsang it was the name of both the city and the district, the district being about 2000 li in circuit. So the ancient kingdom of Taxila must have covered a wide area of several miles centering round Shah-Dheri, bounded on the west by the Indus, by the District of Urasa[11] on the north, by the river Jhelum

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[7] *The Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana, by O.* De. Beauvoir Priaulx, London: Quaritch, Piccadilly, MDCCCLXXIII, pp. 13-15. The book has recently been edited by Jarl Charpentier (Leipzig, 1934) who is convinced that the traveller had been actually in India.

[8] *YC*, I, p. 240. Fa-hien makes it seven days' journey from Gandhāra.

[9] *CAGI*, p. 120.

[10] *KSSR*, I, p. 235.

[11] *Urasā* or Uraśā is mentioned in the gaṇas of *Pāṇini* IV. ii. 82. The name was given to the country between the upper reaches of the Indus and the Vitastā which is now known as the Haz-

on the east and by Sinhapura on the south[12] which is thus roughly equivalent to the modern Rawalpindi District.

But in Indian tradition Takṣaśilā is always represented as a city of Gandhāra. The combined testimony of the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*[13] and the Vāyu *Purāṇa*[14] preves that it was a city of the Gandhāra-Viṣaya. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* the Gāndhāra-viṣaya contained two flourishing cities, viz. Takṣaśīlā and Puṣkalāvati:

> Tadā samṛddhe dvē purottamē taksaṁ Takṣaśīlā-yāntu.
> Puṣkalaṁ Puṣkalāvate Gandharvadeśe rucire Gāndhāraviṣaye ca saḥ.[15]

The other city Puṣkalāvatī, the ancient capital of Gāndhāra was equally famous. Thus Arrian says that Peukelaitis was of great size and was not far from the Indus. The Greek name was obtained from Pukkalaoti which is the Pali form of the Sanskrit Puṣkalāvatī. Two large towns namely Chārsadda, which is situated on the left or the eastern bank of the Landai river, 17 miles north-east of Peshawar city and the town of Prāng contiguous to it (which formed part of the well-known Hashtnagar, or ' eight cities ') have been identified by Cunning ham, with the ancient Puṣkalāvatī, capital of the land of Peukelaotis at the time of Alexander's invasion[16]. Puṣkalāvatī was a great emporium of commerce and both Ptolemy[17] (150 A.D.) and the author of the Periplus (1st cen-

ara District. Hiuen Tsang mentions the country (*YC*, I, p. 256) under the name of Wu-la-shih and in his days it was a tributary to Kashmir. To the Greeks the people were known as Arsakes (*PH*, p. 200). Cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 121. 46-47.

12 *CAGI*, p. 128 and p. 138; Marshall. *A guide to Taxila*. pp. 1-4.

13 No. 408, *CJ*, III, p. 229.

14 88. 189-90.

15 *VII*. 114. 10-11.

16 *MM*. p. 184, and fn.

17 *MT*. p. 117.

tury A.D.) refer to it as Proklaiṣ which they correctly place on the eastern bank of the river Swat. In the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsang visited the city of Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti which he reached by travelling 50 li in the north-east from the Kaniṣka-Vihāra[18]. But during his time the city was no longer the capital of Gāndhāra. It appears from his account that it was then abandoned as a political capital in favour of Purushapura, Parashā-wara, or modern Peshawar known to him as Pu-lu-sha-pu-la-[19]. The great city was first noticed by Fa-hien under the name Fo-lu-sha which was the capital of Gāndhāra in his time and next noticed by Sung Yun in 502 A.D.[20] So Puṣkalāvatī was perhaps abandoned at some period between the time Ptolemy (C.150 A.D.) and that of Fa-hien.

The Gāndhāra country thus lay extended on both sides of the Indus: Sindhorubhayataḥ pārśve deśaḥ paramaśobhanaḥ[21]. The ancient application of the name seems to have comprehended some regions to the east of the Indus. According to Zimmer the tribe settled in Vedic times on the south bank of the Kubhā, and for some distance down the east side of the Indus[22]. Inclusion of Kasmir is indicated by the evidence of a Jataka story[23]. The Matsya Purāṇa further records that the Ārvaṭṭa country famous for its horses was included in the realm of Gāṇdhāra[24] and Dr. Roy Chaudhury says that the little kingdom of Gandaris that lay between the Chinab

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[18] *YC*, I, p. 214.

[19] *Ibid.* 199; *CAGI*. p. 55.

[20] CII, I. p. XXXVIII; BRI. p. XXXII.

[21] *Rām.*, vii. 113. 10-11.

[22] *Ved. Ind.*, I. 219.

[23] No. 406, Cj, III, p. 222. Dr. Roy Chaudhury is of opinion that Kaspapyros mentioned as a Gandaric city is the same as Kasmir (PH, p. 124). Dr. Stein has rejected the idea that Kaspapyros was ever taken to designate Kashmir. Modern view seeks to place it to the west of Indus (*MM*, p. 157. fn.).

[24] 48. 6-7.

and the Rāvi was the Eastern Gāndhāra.[25] But excepting the inclusion of Taxila there is no strong evidence to prove the extension of Gāndhāra's former geographical limits further east. In the Persepolis inscription of Darius (521-484 B.C.) Hidush (Sindhu, i.e., district on the Indus)[26] is distinguished from Gadāra. This indicates that in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Gāndhāra was commonly used to denote the Western Indus basin, covering in modern geography, the district of Peshawar in the N. W. Frontier Province. Rapson says that Gāndhāra of the old Persian inscriptions included also the district of Kabul in Afghanistan.[27]

So the Gāndhāras of the third century B.C. mentioned in the R. E. V. of Aśoka as living on the western borders of his empire, presumably lived in the Gāndhāra country of the trans-Indus region, the river Indus being the eastern boundry of Gāndhāra. Taksaśilā does not appear to have been the capital of Gāndhāra in the time of Aśoka.[28] The Gandarai (Gāndhāra) country in the time of Ptolemy lay to the west of the Indus with its city Proklais, i.e., Puṣkarāvatī.[29] Hien-Tsang similarly records that Kan-t'o-lo. i.e., Gāndhāra was about 1000 li from east to west and bordered on the east on the river Sin (Sindh).[30] Cunningham says that it was bounded on the west by Jalalabad and Lamgham, on the north by the hills of Swat and Bunir, and on the south by the hills of Kalabagh[31]. But

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[25] *PH*, p. 202.

[26] *SI*. 7, L. 17-18. In another Persian inscription a man from Sindhu of the Indus valley is called a Hinduvīya (fn. 1).

[27] Rapson, *Ancient, India*, p. 81. See also Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 28.

[28] *CL*, p. 54, fn.

[29] *MT*, p. 117.

[30] *YC*, I, p. 198-200.

[31] *CAGl*, p. 56.

the boundaries of the country must have changed at different periods in its history. In the Vaijayantī Gāndhāra is equated with Bihaṇḍa.[32] The picture label of an illustrated manuscript dated 1015 A.D. refers to Kuṭa-parvata of Gandhāramaṇḍala.[33]

The Gāndhāras were a people of high antiquity, being indirectly referred to in the Ṛgveda[34] and in the *Atharvaveda*.[35]. Pāṇini in the *Sūtra* IV. i. 169 refers to Gandhāra as the name of a country in which a Kṣatriya tribe called Gāndhāri was living. The Purāṇa's record that the country name Gāndhāra[36] was obtained from Gāndhāra a Druhya prince.[37] "It is probable that the Druhyus were a north-western people" of the Vedic age[38] and so the connection between the Gāndhāras and the Druhyus appears to be highly probable. In the *Mahābhārata* the Gāndhāras appear as a people of the Uttarāpatha[39] and are represented as an impure people[40]. From the Buddhist Books we learn that the Gandhāran traders carried on business in horses and blankets [41]. Hiuen Tsang says that the disposition of the people of Kan-t'o-lo was timid and soft and that they loved literature [42]

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32 *Vaijayantī* of Yādava Prakāśa ed. by Oppert, p. 37, v. 24.

33 Foucher, *Etude Sur L'Iconographie*, I, p. 198.

34 1. 126. 7the reference is to the wool of the sheep of the Gandhāris.

35 V. 22. 14. The form is Gandhāri. In the *Chāndogya* Upaniṣad (vi. 14. 1. 2.), we have a reference to the Gandhāras.

36 In a Prakrit inscription the form is Gaindhāra (El. XX. 22). In the Bahistan inscription of Darius it is Godāra (Sl. 4, L. 16).

37 *ALHT*, p. 167.

38 *Ved. Ind*, I, 385.

39 xii. 207. 43.

40 viii. 45. 40; 40. 29.

41 *Tribes of Ancient India*, by B. C. Law, p. 17. cf. *Harivaṁśa*, 1.32.

42 *BR*, I, p. 98.

THE BUDHAVAKTRAMAṆḌANA OF KIKA

By K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

THE *Anup Sanskrit Library* has a Ms. of a rare work named *Budhavaktramaṇḍana*, which has not so far received a notice anywhere. It contains thirty-six interesting Samasyās excluding the last i.e., the thirty-seventh on the author. The Ms. consists of a single folio, old, worn and damaged. I came across the leaf where recently I was examining a bundle of stray leaves. It is at least three centuries old in appearance. Krishnamachariar in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Note 1034) mentions one Kīkarāja as the author of *Saṅgītasāroddhāra* and says that he was also known as Śâradānanda. It is, however, not known if he is the same as the author of this work, who is also called Kīka. According to the last verse, Kīka was the son of Mallamantrīśvara, son of Krūra of Lāṭakula. As for his date we have some evidence in the work itself. In verses 23 and 34 there are references to Bhoja of Dhārā. In view of this and the age of the Ms. we may tentatively place him between the twelfth and the sixteenth century. The Ms. is written in a very minute hand. It contains some gaps and is inaccurate in many places. To illustrate the first Samasyā:

शम्भुमाह्वय--भव; साधुं च--अनीच; वित् किं त्यजति—रणम्; दर्पकं संबोधय—स्मर; ज्ञः किं ब्रूते—भवानीचरणं स्मर।

I give here the entire text as it is found in the Ms.

बुधवक्त्रमण्डनम्

शम्भुमाह्वय साधुं च वित् किं त्यजति दर्पकम्।
संबोधय ज्ञः किं ब्रूते भवानीचरणं स्मर॥ १॥

जगत् कं स्तौति कुक्ष्मापात् कीदृग् लोकश्च का गिरौ।
का भक्तदुरितान् हन्ति श्रीशंकरकृशोदरी॥ २॥

श्लाघ्यं तनौ किमुत का स्मररङ्गहन्त्री
कीदृग्घरिः किमजलं विधुमाह्वय त्वम्।
मान्याश्च के सुलभमस्तु सदैव किं ते
वक्षोजराजितमुरःस्थलमब्जमुख्याः ॥ ३ ॥

याप्योऽनड्वान् ह्रीः कथं खेचरः कः
पुत्री काब्धेः किं कुभूपः करोति।
ब्रूते कान्तं मैथुने किं मृगाक्षी
मन्दं मन्दं वीर मा देहि पीडाम् ॥ ४ ॥

किं तेऽस्तु किं श्रयन्नष्टो दुष्टस्थः श्लाघितो मुनौ।
कोऽत्यघो निर्विवेकी कः कन्दर्पमदमोहितः ॥ ५ ॥

का पुत्री जलधेश्च केन रमते चित्तं द्विजस्यास्तु किं
का मातंगवयस्य कीदृगरुणः किं हन्ति किं स्याद्दृढम्।
को धाकः स्तुतिमर्हति प्रियसखी किं वक्ति रुष्टां सखीं
मानं तेन समं त्यज प्रियतमो यो लोचनाज्ञाकरः ॥ ६ ॥

संबोधय मधुके मामा भवन्तु कमरिस्तवः।
सेवते किं यती वक्ति स्मर मित्र गदाधरम् ॥ ७ ॥

किं स्यात्पुण्यकृतां हस्तमाह्वय स्तौति कं जनः।
वनं कः स्मरते कश्च सिद्धिदः शंकरांगजः ॥ ८ ॥

दातुः क्व कीर्तिरुदितास्ति किमन्धकारः
संबोधनं भवति भाग्यवतस्तनौ का।
दूरीकरोतु दुरितान्निजसेवकान् का—
मी तेन का खलु मता जगदीशभार्या ॥ ९ ॥

किं दानकाले कृपणाननेषु गेहेषु के भूमिभृतां विभान्ति।
केनोच्यते वागृनता न केन दग्धो मनोभूर्न गजाम्बरेण ॥ १० ॥

को न स्थिरो वसति कुत्र विवेकदीपः केषां शिवं भवतु भव्यमथाह्वय त्वम्।
को यज्ञभुक् कथय को निजघान दैत्यं दर्पोद्धतं दशमुखं युधि रामदेवः ॥ ११ ॥

दर्पाय को भवति नीचजनस्य वाढं का सुस्तनी स्तनयुगोन्नतिमाशु हन्ति।
को लीलया सृजति विश्वमिदं महेशं कः पूजयत्यनुदिनं दिवि राजराजः ॥ १२ ॥

का राज्ञः पालनीया प्रहरति सबलो निर्भयः किंविधास्त्रैः
कः स्त्रीमालोकयन्तं मदयति तरुणं मद्यपानं विनैव।
कान्ते देहेषु केषां भवतु कृतमहानुग्रहा श्री भवानी
कीदृग्वा ग्रीष्मकाले तपति दिनपतिर्भूरितेजःप्रभावः ॥ १३ ॥

कं शीघ्रं किं जनो वक्ति मा भूत्कः कस्यचित्कदा।
को भुजे राति रामश्च किश्चक्रे दौत्यमंगदः ॥१४॥

हते कस्मिन्मुरा हृष्टा यज्ञः कस्मै न रोचते।
भीमोऽवधीत्कं किं वाच्यं त्रिपुरे रक्ष सेवकम् ॥१५॥

किंलक्षणा त्वदरिचन्द्रमुखी वनान्ते
मातेह निर्मलधियां वद कीदृशी स्यात्।
का गेहिनां सुखशतानि करोति कादौ
पुत्रीं ददौ नृपनलाय च भीमकान्ता ॥१६॥

परेषां के कुर्वन्त्युपकृतिमजस्रं गुरुतरां
न कश्चौरौघोऽयं ..तमसि धर्तुं च विटपी।
कुतो युक्तो नीडैः पुरुवनितया को निधनतां
क्षणान्नीतः कीदृग्यतियतनतः संगविरतः ॥१७॥

जनानां का मान्या रिपुसुनयना दीनवचना
धवाप्त्यै किंरूपा नृवर कुरुते तेऽविविनयात्।
न का भीरुस्त्याज्या मृतमनुपतिता का समुचिता
सतीनां का स्त्रीवाक् भवति नृमुदे मातरचिता ॥१८॥

गेही किमिच्छति सुखाय च रागिणां किं
वेद्यं द्विषां युधि निहन्ति न कं कुलीनः।
श्लाध्यश्च कीदृशसुरो भजते सती कं
कीदृक् प्रियास्यकमलं सुरतान्तकान्तम् ॥१९॥

शत्रुः सतां वसति क्षेत्रभयेन कुत्र
प्राप्ते चिरान्निशि धवेन किमिच्छति स्त्री।
संसारलोभविमुखः क्व करोति नाशां
वाच्यं सभासु न कदा विदुषां प्रसंगे ॥२०॥

वाक् सूनृता जयति कस्य गुणश्च कीदृग्।
गर्भं बिभर्ति सुमुखी किमवाप्य संगे।
आद्यो युगः क इह कीदृगरिस्त्वदीयः
कीदृग् समीरणसुतः समरे कृतान्तः ॥२१॥

कं देवकी सुतं जज्ञे कस्मिन्न मनसो रुचिः।
व्रतस्थः को भवेत्पूज्यः कानुगच्छति कौशिकम् ॥२२॥

अमरसेना।

भोजं नृपालमधिगत्य पतिं पुरी का
भाति स्म कोऽमृतमयो मृगलोचनायाः।

का मंगलस्य जननी परिनिन्दकैः कः
संपूरितस्तु भुवनत्रयजीवनं कः।।२३।।

धाराधरः। द्विर्व्यस्तमेकदा समस्तम्।

त्रस्यन्ति पापात् के केषां धर्मे धीरस्तु कः सुहृत्।
कर्तव्यः श्रियमासाद्य नीचो भवति कीदृशः।।२४।।

समानः। एकदा व्यस्तं द्विः समस्तम्।

धातुः सम्बोधनं किं नृपसदसि भवान् कीदृगामन्त्रयस्व
श्रीपुत्रं को दुरापो भवति तनुभृतामुद्यमैर्वर्जितानाम्।
कीदृग् ते काननान्ते वसति रिपुरभूत् कीदृशः सूर्यवंशः
क्ष्मेशः प्राप्तः कुतोऽस्तं कुत उत तरुणीं हर्षपात्रं गुणी कः।।२५।।

अजराजितः।

दिव्यस्तन्त्रिः समस्तं....का सेषोरगमूर्द्धिन का नतिमतां कल्याण दास्यात् सुखी।
किं कृत्वा......वामचरणं वीरः करोमीति च।।२६।।(?)
पृष्टः पुण्यकृता गुरुर्वदति किं काब्धिः सुता चासती।
संगं कांक्षति कस्य चापि मरणं भूपास्य भीमावभूत्। कुरु मान्यस्य।।२७।।

विधाय बलिभिर्वैरं यात्यधीरो विहाय किम्।
चौरस्य चित्ते किं चौर्यं कुर्वतोऽवति को दिवम्।२८।।

पुरंदरः। एकदा व्यस्तं समस्तम्।

प्राप्य प्रीतिमतीं सतीं सहचरीं कामी भवेत् कीदृशः
कः पारावतरूपवान् रतसुखं जह्ले शिवाशर्वयोः।
कीदृग् जल्पति पण्डिते वद जडः श्रीमत्करः कीदृशः
को रत्नानि चतुर्दश प्रमथतः प्रासूत पूर्वं सुरैः ।। २९।।

समुद्रः। एकदा व्यस्तं त्रिः समस्तम्।

मित्रामन्त्रय माधवं नृपतिना का पाल्यते किं रवे-
राह्वानं हनुमान् जघान गहनं भुङक्त्वा तमामन्त्रय।
का कान्ता मुरहन्तुराह्वय पतिं केनाहितः स्तूयते
नो भाव्यं यतिभाविशुद्धमतिना किं लक्षणेनात्मना।। २९।।

अक्षमेन। द्विर्व्यस्तं द्विः समस्तम्।

वद मदयति पीता कावधीदन्धकं कः
क्व विमलकुलजानां निश्चला चित्तवृत्तिः।
कुरुत तुरगहूतिं कोऽदहत् [खाण्डवाख्यं
वनमषि सुमुखीं को लेखमुख्यः सिषेवे।। ३०।।

सुरेश्वरः। द्विर्व्यस्तं एकदा समस्तम्।

परनरकरसङ्गे का न धत्ते प्रमोदं
विरहविधुरवक्त्रद्वन्द्वशोकापहः कः।
न वचनकठिनत्वं कुत्र निद्रोहपात्रं
भवति सदनुगानां कोऽर्चितो भूतिदः कः ॥ ३१ ॥

सतीनः। द्विर्व्यस्तं एकसमस्तम्।

पृथुलकलुषभाजामीक्षते का न काये
भवतु पटुतरा............सद्गुणेक्तौ।
अजयदहितसेनां कीदृशः सव्यसाची
हरति दुरितपंक्तिं दूरतश्चिन्तिता का॥ ३२॥

भागीरथी। एकदा व्यस्तं समस्तम्।

नाकं श्रीर्देवीः किमधरनरादपि (?) गतं
कठोरं किं कामं पुनरसु मदाह्वानमपि।
न कः कर्णघ्नेनावधि सुररिपुः खाण्डववने
ज्वलत्यादिः कीदृग् कथय रथजानी सोऽमृतमयः॥ ३३॥

अन्तर्लापिका । द्विर्व्यस्तमेकदा समस्तम्।

कां कान्तारगता जहार.....लंकाधिपो वक्ता
पुच्छे केन धृता कवीन्द्रपदवीं प्राप्य प्रसिद्धाऽभवत्।
का श्रीभोजनरेन्द्रसंसदि तमः केना.........
तप्ता केन विधीयते विरहिणी दुःखेन शीतांशुना॥ ३४॥

मातुर्गर्भे पुनः को वसति च महानुद्यमी कार्यमाद्या—
रब्धं कुर्यात् कदा का जलनिधिमथनादुद्गता विश्ववन्द्या।
को नारीणां विलासी वदति च पुरुषं वेदवित्किं पुराणं
केषां सिद्धिर्दुरापा त्रिजगति करणीयस्य मुक्तोद्यमानाम्॥ ३५॥

किं गौरीभर्तुराह्वानं का न स्याद्गुरुसेवया।
किं वन्ने कमला देवी पूज्यते किं शिवापदम्। ॥ ३६॥

श्रीमल्लाटकुलेऽमले विमलधीर्जीयान्महीमण्डले
श्रीकूरस्य सुतः सतां हितकरः श्रीमल्लमन्त्रीश्वरः।
तत्सूनुः सुतपा....गुरोरासाद्य कीकाभिध—
श्चक्रे यद्बुधवक्त्रमण्डनमिदं तत्पठ्यतां पण्डितैः॥ ३७॥
इति श्रीकीकविरचितं बुधवक्त्रमण्डनं समाप्तम्॥

TATTVA—HITA—PURUṢĀRTHA IN RĀMĀNUJA'S PHILOSOPHY

By K. Seshadri

Tattva represents the nature of ultimate reality, and tells us of the Brahman the supreme; puruṣārtha is the *summum bonum*, the highest object of human aspiration, while ' hita ' reveals the means for the attainment of the highest. These are fundamental concepts in any system of philosophy. I propose to give in this paper an outline of Rāmānuja's exposition of these ideas with particular reference to the section known as Ānandavallī in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*.

Rāmānuja's view is that the Supreme as revealed by the scriptures is Viśiṣṭa-Brahman, not quality-less or attributeless Being. Mokṣa, which is the highest target of all human endeavour and which on its negative side consists in liberation from the vortex of saṁsāra, is visualised as a positive state of incomparable bliss or Ānandānubhava attained by the liberated Jīva, who remaining distinct from the Paramātman acquires the privilege of equality with Him in most respects (Paramam Sāmyam). Bhakti or devotion implying the practice of dhyāna or meditation is the *hita*. Devotion born of enlightenment and knowledge shaped and sustained by unwavering devotion are the means prescribed for the aspirant. It is claimed that the Śrutis reveal these as Tattva, hita and puruṣārtha. In the Ānandavallī of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* the opening words are " Brahmavid-āpnoti param," which may be taken as presenting in a nutshell the Tattva, hita and puruṣārtha revealed in the Śrutis as a whole. " He who knows the Paramātman attains the highest " is what the words say in literal translation.

But does Brahma-vit merely mean one who has knowledge of the Brahman or does it imply one, whose enlightenment has taken the shape of active devotion? Rāmānuja interprets it to mean Bhakti to the Lord, which is not divergent from Jñāna but constitutes its very quintessence. In his *Laghu Siddhānta* he points out that " Veda " in " ya evam veda " has the same connotation as " *upāsīta* " which occurs elsewhere in " Mano Brahmetyupāsīta." In explaining again the nature of Bhakti he cites the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-vākyam, " Ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyaḥ." which means that it is the Ātman, who deserves to be seen, heard, thought about and meditated upon. The real emphasis here is upon the importance of meditation or dhyāna, without which what is seen or heard from the ācārya or thought about under his guidance would be altogether useless. Elsewhere the Upaniṣads clearly lay down that hearing (śravaṇa), thinking (manana) and meditating (dhyāna) would prove to be utterly inadequate if unaccompanied by intense love (adhikaprīti) for the Lord, who on His part is unequalled in His responsiveness to true love. (Nāyamātmā pravacanena labhyaḥ etc.). The Jñāna that is held up as superior to any other type of knowledge is prītirūpāpanna Jñāna. Hearing of the Paramātman and His Kalyāṇa guṇas results in śabdajanyajñāna, which marks but an initial stage in the development of bhakti. This leads to meditating on the Paramātman and His excellences through a continuous process of recollection in which the memory-stream taking its source in the śabda-janya-jñāna flows through consciousness in unbroken continuity. This smṛti or recollection gradually acquires a vividness of detail and clarity of conception through the practice of unswerving, one-pointed meditation, and increasingly reveals the stamp of authenticity, which renders it equivalent to direct experience or

true pratyakṣānubhava. Bhakti includes all these stages, for it is rightly described as "pratyakṣa-samānākāra-prīti-rūpāpanna-smṛti-santati." It is such a bhakti that can effect Mokṣa, not a mere intellectual awareness or understanding. The Sūtra, "Āvṛttirasakṛdupadeśāt" (4—1—1) is cited in this connection to show that Vyāsa himself has conclusively expressed that bhakti is the type of knowledge referred to here.

What really is the nature of the Brahman that is commended here as the object of devotion? What is the fruit attained, the aspiration realised? It is in elucidation of these points that the Upaniṣadic section proceeds to state "Satyam-Jñānam-anantam Brahma, yo veda, nihitam guhāyām parame vyoman, sośnute sarvān kāmān saha Bhahmaṇā vipaścitā." The first vākyam says that the Parabrahman, unlike the sentient and non-sentient things of the world of creation, never undergoes any real change in its nature or form, that it always shines with the undimmed brilliance of highest Jñāna, and that being present in all places and at all times it has the entire world of sentient and non-sentient things as its śarīra, in a manner which admits of no comparison. The other vākyas speak of meditation on the Parabrahman as described above as the means leading to the highest puruṣārtha, and affirms that he who enters on the path of bhakti reaches the Parama-pada through divine grace and enjoys the innumerable excellences of the Infinite.

The first word "Satyam" in Satyam-Jñānam-anantam expresses that the Brahman is different from both Prakṛti (matter) and Jīva (the finite individual), in that it undergoes no vikāra, no change or modification as a result of karma, to which both Prakṛti and the Jīva are subject. Vikāra may be of two kinds—Svarūpa and Svabhāva-vikāra. Prakṛti is subject to both these kinds of vikāra. The Jīva has svabhāva-vikāra alone, as its Jñāna

is subject to the vicissitudes of sañkoca and vikāśa, of dim obscurity and full radiance. It is this last point of difference, which is emphasised in the next word ' Jñānaṁ ' as describing another aspect of the nature of the Brahman. The Paramātman is Jñāna always in full brilliance. Never was a time when its radiance was eclipsed or dimmed. In this respect the Brahman is different even from a Mukta or liberated individual, whose career necessarily implies a prior state of bondage and its concomitant ignorance. The third expression ' anantam ' indicates the unique character of the Brahman, its infiniteness which implies its transcendence of the limitations of time and space and the absence of any other object comparable to itself (deśa-kāla-vastu-pariccheda-rāhityam). This expression, 'anantam' is exclusive in its applicability to the Brahman, the Supreme, both in its derivative sense and by usage (yogārtha and rūḍhyarṭha). The vākyam as a whole thus brings out the truth so significant to Viśiṣṭādvaita that the Paramātman is different from (1) the acit-tattva, (2) the baddha Jīva and (3) the Mukta as well as the Nitya. The difference is re-emphasised in a number of other vākyas within the same upaniṣadic section. The very next group of vākyas to the opening lines describing the tattva, hita and puruṣārtha proceeds to state that all the elements Ākāśa, Vāyu, etc., have originated from and been caused by the Brahman, who is thus pointed out as their material cause and indeed as the material cause of everything. The Brahman is the sarvopādāna Kāraṇa or universal material cause. This sarvopādāna Kāraṇatvam of the Brahman clearly establishes the vastu-pariccheda-rāhityam already mentioned. The Brahman must be understood as unique, with nothing else like itself in all the worlds (sakaletara-vilakṣaṇa). In order to facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of the Brahman the *vākyas* thereafter lead us step by step through statements describ-

ing the Brahman variously as Annam, Prāṇam, Manas and Vijñānam and finally speaks of it as Ānandamayaḥ, in accordance with the procedure known as Sthūla-Arundhatī-Nyāya. The first four are mentioned solely in the interests of clarity and precision, and the reference should not be taken to express absolute identity between any of them and the Brahman. The Annamaya-śarīra, Prāṇamaya-śarīra, Manomaya-śarīra and even the Vijnāna-maya, which stands for Jīvātman may all be pictured as so many sheaths, each outer one enveloping the next within it; innermost of all being the Parabrahman, who is described as Ānandamayaḥ, who is the Soul of Souls, and who does not stand in any subordinate relation of śarīra to śarīri, there being nothing transcendental to His. It is of utmost importance here to note that the Brahman has no kārmic śarīra, in the sense in which a baddha-Jīva or bound individual has. He cannot be grasped by the physical senses, in the sense in which an acit-vastu may be. He cannot be classified as belonging to any species, as a mukta may be, for there is nothing else like Him to form a class with. He is different even from a Nitya, who needs an Ādhāra to sustain him, the Lord being the ādhāra of all, the one ultimate Antaryāmin of all who sustains, animates and rules all. It is on the Paramātman of such unique excellences that the aspirant for Mokṣa must keep constantly meditating.

That Jīva, who knows the Lord enthroned in the cavity of his heart, who in total surrender to the Lord offers His unremitting dhyāna, gets freed from fear of all kinds, and attains the highest knowledge and the loftiest peaks of bliss. He reaches the Paramapada, where the Lord and His innumerable, infinite excellences constitute the object of his matchless experience of Ānandānubhava.

The Upaniṣadic vākyam, "Eṣa hyevānanda yāti" tells us that the Paramātman is the cause of the Jīvātman's

Ānandam. This obviously implies difference between the Jīvātman, of whose Ānanda the Paramātman is said to be the cause, and the Paramātman who is Himself the cause of it. Moreover, the reference to the Paramātman in the Upaniṣad as a Rasasvarūpa, who is of the very essence of bliss (Raso vai saḥ-Rasam hyevāyam labdhvānandī bhavati) and the statement that, when the Jīva attains Him, experiences transcendental bliss, gives yet another support to the recognition of difference between the two. Indeed, the Jīva with his finite nature can by no means cause, or even form an adequate estimate of the Ānanda of the Infinite. The Ānandam of the Brahman, who is spoken of as the " Ānandamayaḥ " is verily immeasurable, but a faint conception of something approximating to it may be formed by the human mind, which starting with its own notions of ' perfect ' human happiness, could ascend step by step by a process of progressive multiplication hundredfold at each stage, and arrive at an idea of the Ānandam of the four-faced Brahman, the creator of the fourteen worlds, which represents after all a fraction of the highest Brahmānandam exceeding all human computation and defying all verbal description yato vāco nivartante aprāpyamanasā saha, ānandam Brahmaṇo vidvān na bibheti kadācana).

The Mukta-state has been characterised as essentially equal to that of the Lord Himself. Rāmānuja would emphasise that it is equal, but not absolutely identical, for the Mukta does not acquire *all* the divine faculties and powers including those of creation, destruction and preservation. He does not become the Ruler of the worlds. These are the asādhāraṇa dharmas of the Lord, and "Paramam sāmyam " does not mean absolute or perfect equality, but only essential equality, which excludes the possession of those unique attributes, which the Śrutis themselves assert as belonging to none other than the Lord. Jagadvyā-

pāra-varjam Bhogamātra sāmyalingāt. Sāmyam refers to parity in the measure of the Ānandam experienced by all the Muktas, and the Parama Puruṣa Himself.

The words " so'śnute sarvān kāmān saha Brahmaṇā vipaścitā " reveal that the direct blissful experience of the divine excellences (guṇānubhava) is the be-all and end-all of the Mukta. Rāmānuja would point out that this must not be taken to imply a passive state of bare contemplation, but to mean activity in service (kaiṅkarya) at the feet of the Lord. This is necessary in view of the Śarīra-śarīrī relation between the Jīvātman and the Parabrahman. The relationship is permanent, unalterable and irrevocable. The Jīva cannot and will not relinquish his right to serve his Lord at any stage. If the Mukta-Jīva should take his proper, rightful place as part of the Śarīra of the Paramapuruṣa and function accordingly he must serve the śarīrī. Indeed the high honour of such service is described as " Kaiṅkarya Śrī " and valued as the most precious privilege, that one can ever enjoy.

SHORT NOTES

I

A VERSE FROM SKANDAGUPTA'S JUNAGARH INSCRIPTION

By DASHARATH SHARMA

The latter half of the second verse of Skandagupta's *Junagarh inscription* runs as follows :—

Narapati-bhujagānāṁ mānadarppotphaṇānāṁ
pratikṛti-Garuḍājñā[ṁ] nirvviṣī[ṁ] cāvakarttā

According to Fleet it means,

" and who plucked (and utilised) the authority of (his local) representatives who were so many Garuḍas, and (used it as) an antidote against the (hostile) kings who were so many serpents, lifting up their heads in pride and arrogance."

To me Fleet's rendering does not seem very happy. The large number of words put within brackets shows that he himself could not have been very sure of the correctness of his interpretation. How could a *Vaiṣṇava* like Cakrapālita[1] represent his *Vaiṣṇava* master, Skandagupta,[2] as plucking the authority of so many Garuḍas, his representatives? This deity, half-man half-bird, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, must have been too sacred to both Cakrapālita and Skandagupta to be treated with such impertinence. And even if we concede the correctness of Fleet's translation, how are we to believe that the plucked authority of a Garuḍa could be used as an antidote against serpents,

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[1] The inscription was put by Cakrapālita in a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu and begins with Viṣṇu's praise.

[2] See Skandagupta's Bhitari inscription and the legends on his coins.

specially against such as had " lifted up their heads in pride and arrogance " ?

Re-interpretation of the lines or their emendation is obviously very necessary. *Garuḍājñā* does not, I think, mean " authority of Garuḍas," but a command carried through the "*Garuḍamadaṅka-śāsanas*," about which we read in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Secondarily it signifies also a *Gāruḍa-mantra* beleived to be so efficacious in dealing with serpents. The word, *pratikṛti*, in the compound " *pratikṛti-Garuḍājñā* " would, if this new interpretation be accepted, signify " retaliatory or punitive measures," though the sense of a " picture," too is not unlikely,[3] and " *pratikṛti-Garuḍājñā* " may have tobe analysed as *pratikṛti-yutayā Garuḍājñayā* or *pratikṛti-rūpayā Garuḍājñayā*. Secondly, if Fleet's reading is allowed to stand, we have to give the prefix ava in *avakarttā*, the added sense of " *niścaya* " or surety.

Keeping these considerations in view, we might give the following two alternative syntactical orders to the lines, provided we keep to Fleet's reading:—

(a) (*yaś*) *cha pratikṛti-Garuḍājñāṁ mānadarppotphaṇānāṁ narapatibhujagānāṁ nirvviṣim-avakarttā*.

(b) (*yaś*) *ca pratikṛti-Garuḍājñām nirvviṣim=ava-karttā mānadarppotphaṇānām narapatibhujagānām avakarttā*.

In the first of these, *avakarttā* would have merely the sense of " one who surely does a thing," and the rendering would be, " and who surely made retaliatory measures, accompanied by orders bearing the figure of Garu-

[3] See D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* I p. 300. " Pratikṛti-Garuḍājñā " may mean " command conveyed through Garuḍa in its representation ".

ḍa, an antidote (*nirvviṣī*) against the kings who were so many serpents raising their heads in pride and arrogance." In the second, *avakarttā* would have the additional sense of " one who destroys, cuts or renders innocuous." Skandagupta was the *avakarttā* of poisonous serpent-like kings ready to strike; and the antidote (निर्विषी) that he used with sure and certain effect against them was *pratikṛti-Garuḍājñā*.

In view of the fact, however, that Fleet's reading makes us give *avakarttā* a sense which it does not generally bear in classical Sanskrit, even though we separate it into its two components, *ava* and *karttā*, we propose to read the second half of the verse as follows :—

Narapati-bhujagānāṁ mānadarppotphaṇānāṁ
pratikṛti-Garuḍājñām nirvviṣīm vāva karttā

The only change introduced is that of reading " *vāva karttā* " instead of " cāvakarttā " ; and this, we might note, is no radical change, for *va* and *ca* are so similar in the Gupta script that it is easy to read the one instead of the other, especially when the surface of a record be as damaged as that of the Junagarh stone inscription. *Vāva*, in the sense " certainly, surely indeed " is to be found not merely in Vedic but also Paurāṇika literature.[4] Skandagupta made *pratikṛti-Garuḍājñā* a sure (*vāva*) antidote against the kings who were like so many serpents with their heads raised in pride and arrogance; and *pratikṛti-Garuḍājñā*, as already pointed out, while primarily having the sense of *Garuḍamadaṅka-Śāsanas* accompanied by retaliatory or punitive measures, can also have the sense of the *Gāruḍa-mantra*, which is believed to be the best *pratikāra* for poisonous serpents.

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[4] See Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

II

TWO EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

By G. S. GAI

IN his paper on the *Māṅkaṇi Grant of Taralasvāmin*, published in a previous issue of this *Journal*,[1] Principal V. V. Mirashi observes: " the earliest record from North India which contains a date in decimal figures is the Shergaḍh Buddhist inscription of Sāmanta Devadatta dated V. 847 or A.D. 791-2. In South India also the numerical symbols held the field for a long time. The earliest record from that part of the country which uses the decimal notation is the Dhulia grant of the Rashṭrakūṭa prince Karkarāja, dated Ś. 701 (A.D. 789—90). It would seem, therefore, that the decimal notation began to supersede the numerical symbols both in the North and South India about the same time *viz.*, in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D." In the course of my studies I have come across the use of this decimal notation in some inscriptions whose dates are earlier than those of the Sheragaḍh and Dhulia records mentioned above. In North India, the date of the Sakrai Stone Inscription,[2] which has been read as V.S. 699 by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, is expressed in decimal figures and the corresponding English date of this record would be 642-43 A.C. In the Dhiniki (Kathiavāḍ) grant[3] of King Jāikadēva dated V. S. 794 or 737 A.C., the date is also in decimal figures. As regards South India, Dr. Hultzsch has shown[4] that in the Purle,[5] Chicacole[6]

[1] Vol. I, pp. 392-93.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 29-32.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 155 and plate.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307-8.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 362.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 123.

and Tekkali[7] plates of Indravarman and the Chicacole[8] plates of Dēvēndravarman the years are recorded as 100 37, 100 38, 100 54 and 100 83 respectively, so that the decimal notation is partly used in these dates. In the last mentioned record *viz.*, Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman the day 20 is also mentioned by the decimal figure '2' followed by a cipher 'o.' And the entire date of the Siddhāntam plates of Dēvēndravarman *viz.*, year 195 is expressed by decimal notation. To these inscriptions pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch, we may add the Tekkali plates[10] of Dēvēndravarman where the year is recorded as 100 92 (for 192). The year 204 in the Sudava copper-plate Grant[11] of Anantavarman is expressed in decimal figures. The dates of these Gāṅga grants vary from 635 to 702 A.C. And lastly, the regional year 57 and the day 30 of the Lodhia plates of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna are known to have been recorded in decimal figures[12]. This record may be referred to about the middle of the 7th century A.C. Thus we see that the use of the decimal notation is found in the inscriptions of North and South India as early as the second quarter of the seventh century A.C.

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[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 310 and plate.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 123.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 215.

[10] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XI, pp. 301-2 and plate.

[11] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 67 and plate.

[12] *All India Or. Conf. Proceedings*, p. 596.

III

USE OF *B* FOR *V* AND VICE VERSA IN EARLY INSCRIPTIONS

By G. S. Gai

One of the important considerations which has led Dr. D. C. Sircar to show that the Nalanda plate of Samudragupta to be spurious is the use of *b* for *v* and *vice versa* found in that record.[13] Mr. A. Ghosh, who has edited this inscription, considers it " a feature remarkable for the Gupta period."[14] and Dr. Sircar observes that there is not a single instance of such use in any of the genuine records of the Gupta kings and that its earliest use is to be found in the Koh grant of Hastin dated in the Gupta year 156.[15] But attention may be drawn to some examples showing this alphabetic characteristic in the inscriptions of the period under reference which seem to have escaped the notice of these scholars. In the Damodarpur plates[16] of Kumāragupta dated in the Gupta year 124, we have the use of *b* for *v* in the word *paradattāmbā* for *paradattāṁ vā* where the *b* form can be clearly seen in the facsimile. In another Copper-plate Grant[17] from the same place and of the same king and dated in the Gupta year 128, we get *samvaddha* for *sambaddha* and *vahubhi—* for *bahubhi—*,

[13] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 135-6. For a detailed discussion on other points raised in this paper regarding the forged nature of the grant, see Dr. R. C. Majumdar's article in Indian Culture, Vol. X, pp. 225-30.

[14] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXV, pp. 49-52.

[15] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 136.

[16] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 131, text 1.12 and plate.

[17] *Ibid*, Vol. XV. p. 134, text 1.11 and 12.

showing the clear use of *v* for *b*. In the Mankuwār image inscriptions of the same king with the date Gupta year 129, the year has been read as *sambat* for *saṁvat*[18] The Bobbili plates[19] of the Kaliṅga King Chaṇḍavarman, which are paleographically referred to the first half of the 5th century A.C., use the word *sāmbatsarikaṁ* for *sāṁvatsarikaṁ*. And lastly an important example is furnished by Muṇḍēśvarī stone inscription of the time of Udayasēna,[20] the characters of which have been shown to bear close resemblance to the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the date (year 30) of which is assigned to the Gupta era. In this inscription we have the word *sambatsara* for *saṁvatsara* used twice in lines 1 and 2. Thus the above discussion would show that this alphabetic feature was in vogue in the Gupta period and therefore it is admissible in the Nalanda plate of Samudragupta.

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[18] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 20, p. 288, text 1.2.

[19] *Ep Ind*., Vol. XXVII, p. 35.

[20] *Ind. Ant*., XLIX, p. 27.

[21] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 6-10.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Buddhist Texts as recommended by Asoka with an English translation by Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. University of Calcutta. pp. xv.+40. 1948.

The Book under review contains the texts of the Second Bairāṭ Rock Edict. Among the minor rock edicts of Aśoka the one with which we are concerned here is also known as Bābru Edict. This Bairāṭ is in the Jaipur State in Rajputana. As the place of the Edict is 12 miles from a camping station named Bābrū, the Inscription is also called by that name. The Edict is in Brāhmī script. The text of the Edict is the same as published by Dr. Woolner in the Punjab University Oriental Publication comparing it with that published by the University of Calcutta. The Editor has given a Sanskrit *Chāyā* of the texts and he has identify all these texts from the various sources. He has also given in full all the eight oriental Pali texts along with their English rendering.

The book is very useful as it gives in one place all that is needed to be learnt about these texts.

Saṅgītaratnākara of Śārngadeva Vol. I—Chapter I translated into English with detailed notes by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, University of Madras. The Adyar Library series No. 51 pp. xiv+175. Price Rs. 4-8-0 1945.

Saṅgītaratnākara is one of the most important books on classical music. It has been published with an elaborate Sanskrit commentary in the Anandashrama Sanskrit

Series long before and is widely read. The Adyar Library itself has published a portion of it with the commentaries of Kallinatha and Simhabhūpāla. An English translation with copious notes to explain its technicalities was a great desideratum. It is a matter of great satisfaction that Dr. Raja has put before the scholars a portion of it and has promised to complete it gradually. The translator has tried to make the work much more intelligible by adding copious notes to it. An English translation of such works without notes is of very little use. The Adyar Library deserves our congratulations for this attempt. The students on music will be very much benifitted by this work.

KĀŚYAPAJÑĀNAKĀṆḌA (KAŚYAPASAṀHITA) edited by Pandit R. Parthasarathi Bhattacharya. Published in the Venkateshwara Oriental Series, No. 12. pp. 32 +174. Price Rs. 5/- 1948.

The work under review is one of the important works of Vaikhānasa literature. There is Vaikhānas Kalpasūtra attached to the Kṛṣṇa-Yaurveda and there are Saṁhitās by Marici, Atri, Kāśyapa and Bhṛgu. The authorities of the Venkateshwara Oriental Institute have already published some books on this literature and this is an addition to those The present book deals with various aspects of Karmakāṇḍa and Jñānakāṇḍa in a very lucid way. Its treatment of the various problems are quite good and appealing. The Venkateshwara Institute has done a great service by undertaking its publication and has really preserved an important aspect of our literature. The book is very useful. It has a fairly long Introduction in Sanskrit which adds to the utility of the book.

ṚGVEDAVYĀKHYĀ BY MĀDHAVA. Part II—Aṣṭaka 1, Adhyāyas V to VIII. Besant Century Volume, Published by the Adyar Library. Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. pp. viii+473-817. 1947. Price Rs. 15/-

The first volume of this book was published by the Adyar Library in 1939 and this is the second volume. With this the available portion of this very rare commentary on the *Ṛgveda* by Madhava comes to an end. This Madhava is different from Madhava, the son of Venkatarya who also has written a commentary on the *Ṛgveda* which has been edited by the late Dr. Lakshman Swarup. The book under review contains both the commentaries and it gives us an opportunity to study them together. It is very difficult to say anything either for or against definitely about the identity of the authors and the two commentaries. In matter there is no difference but there is a good deal of difference in language though sometimes the latter is also very much similar. Anyhow the two commentaries published will very much help us to scrutinise the points of similarity and dissimilarity which may help us to know more about the authors.

NEW CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM. Edited by Dr. V. Raghuvan and Published by the University of Madras. pp. xxxvi+380. Price Rs. 25/- 1949.

The volume under review has filled in a great desideratum. The work of Dr. Aufrecht was published long ago and since then a good deal of new material has been brought to light. It was very necessary to make a fresh attempt to collect all the material since available. The University of Madras has done a great service by publishing this volume. The work of editing has been on the same lines as we find in Aufrecht's work. Among the new additions we may mention the inclusion of Buddhistic,

Jain and Prakrit works and authors. Almost all the Oriental Institutes and also individual scholars having manuscripts have helped in the preparation of this important work. It is needless to remind our country men that the treasures of Indian scholarship are found in the manuscripts scattered all over the country and it is our most important duty to preserve them and also to bring into light their contents. No doubt some efforts are being made in different quarters towards this but it is not at all sufficient. Manuscripts are lost every day and they cannot remain safe unless immediate care is taken to collect them and place them in safe custody. We should give more attention to this aspect of our studies. I may be permitted to add that the *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* has done a good deal towards this and it has during this short period collected a large number of rare and important manuscripts. We are eagerly awaiting the publication of its other volumes. The Editorial Board should continue to get information about recent collections in order to incorporate them in volumes still under preparation.

THE PROBLEM OF SANSKRIT TEACHING (संस्कृतानुशीलनविवेकः)
Published by the Bharat Book-stall, Kolhapur City.
PP. 700. 1949. Price Rs. 12/8/-

श्रीहुपरीकररचितः संस्कृतविद्यानुशीलनविवेकः ।
विदुषामाह्लादको बालानां मार्गशोधकरः ।।

The Problem of Sanskrit Teaching (संस्कृतानुशीलनविवेकः) by Professor G. S. Huparikar, Sanskrit Department, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, is a most comprehensive and unique work on the subject of teaching Sanskrit to all the different categories of students according to both the (traditional) and critical methods. The exposition of the

subject in Sanskrit as well as in English bespeaks the author's full and equal command over both the languages and bears direct testimony to his thorough mastery of the numerous branches of Sanskrit learning, covering as it does almost the entire field of Sanskrit studies, besides Methodology of Education.

While going through the First (Sanskrit) Part of the book one gets the real pleasure of enjoying a standard classical work written in very attractive and impressive style. The second and Third (English) Parts respestively on Theory and Practice happen to be a sort of lucid commentary on the First one. Śrī Huparikar's presentation of the subject, argument and conclusion are at once clear, convincing and legitimate. There will hardly be a vital point or an important detail concerning the problem which has not been aptly noticed in a suitable place and given the adequate thought it deserves.

The book is so far the only one of its kind and really one of the very best products of the present century. Sanskrit forms the sole unifying cultural link of our multifarious nation and thus deserves to be the basic and common matter of knowledge for every citizen, *i.e.*, a *sine qua non* of the civic life, of all the United States and Provinces of our new Republic of Bhāratavarṣa. Prof. Huparikar's book has appeared at the right time when the study of this most important and sacred of all the languages of our Republic has received a vehement set-back under the weight of the foreign domination on our civilization for a considerably long period. The survival of our civilization is due to the healthy influence Sanskrit has wielded on our dwindling national existence. Since the Vedic age down to the present day Sanskrit has been permeating the life of our masses and with its tight grip over them it has always stood as a peculiarly strong factor and served as a sustaining force in our nation's time-to-time struggle

against all odds. How much, therefore, have we needed the spread and method of the teaching of Sanskrit to be placed on a sure and scientific basis. The present book has squarely met with our this long-felt need.

The world of the teachers and learners of Sanskrit shall for long remain indebted to the author of the work under review, which has been written on modern and most up-to-date lines of education and which at the same time sheds a flood of genuine light on every nook and corner of the ancient store house of Sanskrit learning in its various branches, bringing in high relief all that is valuable and worth retaining in the traditional method of its teaching. As the real torch-bearer in the present rugged and dark path of Sanskrit teaching, Professor Huparikar has rendered yeoman's service and earned our gratitude.

We cordially welcome this most useful book and heartily congratulate its author for the unusual success achieved by him in his endeavour yielding the proper and opportune solution of what has generally appeared to be a rather knotty and to some extent baffling problem.

—R. M. Shastri.

VYUTPATTIVĀDA-LAKĀRARTHAVICĀRA of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭāchārya with *Vivaraṇa* by Pandita Raja V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Annamalai University and with a foreword by His Highness Ramavarma Pareekshit, the Maharaja of Cochin and a preface by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastry, M.A., Ph.D., Annamalai University Sanskrit Series No. 10. pages xxiv+pp. 249. Annamalainagar, 1948.

The book under review is a commentary by the senior Nyāya lecturer in the Annamalai University, on the *Vyutpativāda* of Gadādhara. Gautama, the sūtrakāra of the Nyāya Darśana expounded methodically the basic

principles of the dialectics and ratiocinative machinery of Nyāya system. This machinery was amplified, perfected and refined by Gangeśa Upādhyāya of Mithila in the 13th century, by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi of the 16th century and later in the 17th century by Jagaḍisa and Gadhādhara. The dialectic literature of the later (Navya) Nyāya has been justly compared to a vast banyan tree which had its roots struck deep and its huge trunk fully developed in Mithila in the *Tattva-Cintāmaṇi*, had its immense foliage stretched out and ramified in the *Dīdhiti* in Nuddea and fruit in the rich fruitage of *Jāgadīśī* and *Gādādharī* which formed the colossal monuments of Indian dialectics in the 17th century. Perched on such broad-based and ever growing dialectic eminence the Nyāya dialecticians of recent centuries have been carrying on their Śāstric discussions and making all their contributions to Śāstraic thoughts in Sanskrit, as is clear from *Jayā* which Mm. Jayadeva Mishra has written on the *Vyutpatti-Vāda*. Pandit Subramania Sastry has added a good explanatory commentary to an important section of the *Vyutpatti-Vāda*.

The importance of continuing the study of Sanskrit on the traditional lines cannot be over-rated in spite of some criticisms to the contrary. The Nyāya dialectics possess an educative value of the same kind as that of Pāṇini or as that of Euclid and not much inferior to them in value; and at the hands of Gangeśa Upādhyāya and his successors has been perfected into a science of Debate which has won its way into all forms of intellectual activity in the country including Purva Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta and not excepting Vyākaraṇa. With the recovery of India's independence we stand the risk of losing the rich culture so assiduously preserved all these centuries and it, therefore, behoves every one of us to encourage the study of Nyāya dialecties.

The portion covered in the work deals with one of the most important topics in the Nyāya Śāstra on the meaning of tenses, and the same subject is dealt with by the Vaiyākaraṇas and the Mīmāṁsakas. Hence, the view point of each of the schools is attacked by others with great alertness and dialectical skill. Without deciding the claims of final victory for any side among the three disputants Grammar, Logic and Philosophy it would be sufficient for the student to note the pros and cons of the question so lucidly set forth in the commentary and this itself would give him the greatest intellectual find.

—A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

TIRUKKURAL OF TIRUVALLUVAR—Tamil text with English Translation by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, with a foreword by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Dewan of Mysore. pp. xvii and 271. The Adyar Library Series No. 68. Price Rs. 3/-. Adyar 1949.

2. Do. *Tamil text in Roman Transliteration.*

A distinguished professor of Tamil has stated that the best works in the Tamil language are the *Tirukkural* of Tiruvalluvar and *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kambar. The first belongs to the 2nd century A.D. (according to some to the 1st century B.C.) and the second to the heyday of Chola supremecy. R. Rost writing in the *Encyclopaedia Britanica* states: " The *Tirukkural* is the finest poetical production in the whole range of Tamil composition. It consists of 1330 stanzas on Virtue, Wealth and Pleasure—(Dharma, Artha and Kama). It has often been edited, translated and commented upon. See the introduction to the excellent edition of Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope."

Hence we could easily understand as to why the

Tirukkural is now translated into English with the text in Tamil and Roman scripts for the benefit of the non-Tamil knowing public in India and abroad. The *Tirukkural* may really be styled as the universal text book of religion and politics. The whole book contains 133 Adhyayas and each Adhyaya contains 10 stanzas. The first four Adhyayas are introductory, on God, on Rain, on the greatness of ascetics and on the importance of Dharma. They form in brief the directive principles of state policy of any good state: to impart religion and make the subjects godly, to preserve the rain water in proper ways for cultivation, to train selfless workers and to cultivate Dharma as its ideal at home and abroad. The first part is entitled Dharma and deals with the house-holder and his duties in 21 Adhyayas and with the ascetic and his rules in 13 Adhyayas. Then follows part 2 on Artha—Government dealing with the King, the Minister, the ambassador, fort, army, etc., in 70 Adhyayas. The 3rd part deals with Love in the form of lyrical addresses between a husband and his wife in 25 Adhyayas. *Tirukkural* has received universal praise at the hands of scholars eastern and western. The translation is well done by the Professor of Indian History who is a scholar in history and Tamil.

It is our duty to remind the sponsors of the undertaking as to how the book should be made really useful to the Indian public. Firstly a transliteration of the Tamil verses in Hindi Devanagri script is urgently called for Secondly a further supplemental volume should be brought out which should emphasise the comparison of the contents of the Tamil work with (1) The Dharma Sastras like the *Manu Samhitā* in the treatment of the Dharma of the householder and ascetic, (2) The *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭilya in the second book and (3) with the Kāma Śāstra and works like *Amaru Śataka* in the third book. This was

done in a way in the edition of the second book with translation and notes in English brought out by C. Rajagopalachariar, Governor-General of India and a further edition with the first book also brought out in 1949. Elaborate Sanskrit parallels were given in the edition of Dr. P. S. Subramania Sastry of the Annamalai University. An improved edition on these lines would bring out the greatness of the Kural and also indicate that the culture of India had been one uniform and continuous and will continue to be the same in spite of the languages of South India belonging to a different philological group. To give an instance verse 55 of the Kural " Waking up she worships no other god than her husband. Verily at her very bidding it rains " may be aptly compared with the following:

भर्तुः शुश्रूषया नारी लभते स्वर्गमुत्तमम् ।
अपि या निर्नमस्कारा निवृत्ता देवपूजनात् ॥

Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa II 24. 26.

Such a work alone would further at least impede if not destroy the differentiating tendencies discernible in modern India composed of provincial language groups. With these two improvements the *Tirukkural* would command the attention of the whole of India. In fact the the second book of *Tirukkural* would be a good text book for the Diplomacy classes of our universities along with works on English and American diplomacy. With the Dewan of Mysore and the Adyar press as its patron and printer, we expect the second volume to be published soon to realise the ideal mentioned in the foreword of " spreading these great divine truths of the *Tirukkural* to as wide a populace as possible thereby extending that knowledge to races and peoples whose mother tongue is not Tamil."

—A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

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